[For information pertaining to Greek recipes and food preparation see 70: Rowland , M1 Middle East, category 116, pp. 88-123.]

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342 nate enough to find a description already written by a man of village origin which presents in nontechnical terms the typical house of the central Peloponnesos:

[231] The houses are usually storeyed. The animals are kept in the ground floor
[333] and the people live above. The houses are made from stones taken by the
[178] *mastoras* [master builder] either from the mountain or the river. Nowadays most of the houses have replaced slate with tiles. Most of the houses have no ceiling but the room extends up to the beams, so one can see the whole wooden construction of the roof.

Each house has its *liakoto*, or balcony, which faces toward the mountains.
[712] Windows of the houses are small and in many houses you can still see the holes in the wall through which guns were fired at outsiders. The older people used to say that they made windows small so as not to pay a high tax to the Turks [before 1829]. The smaller the window, the lower the taxes you paid. From
[247] outside you see on the balconies and window sill pots full of carnations, basil, zinnias, and other flowers. The plans of the houses follow the regular mountain pattern. Each man tries to make his home nicer than his neighbor's. The space and the slope regulate the shape. The height of the house is regulated by the slope. Many times the tiles on the top part of the house touch the soil. To avoid having the goats climb on the roof, the upper wall is built higher [than the roof] so that each house has its own design, but altogether they form a beautiful pattern.

252 Outside each house next to the wall is the oven. Our oven is not round and
[184] made out of earth as they are in Megara [a village near Athens] and the islands. It is built with stones. To protect people from getting wet when it rains, they have built a roof on top. This place is called *phournario*. During the summer time the people also do their cooking near the oven, and throughout the year light it every other day or once a week, depending upon how much baking they have to do.

351 Each house has its own courtyard. It is fenced with stones and holm oak
[245] bushes, which have been cut and put in place so as to prevent the animals from entering. Most of the courtyards have a grape arbor or some trees such as fig, mulberry, pomegranate, almond, or olive.[13]

342 Now and then one comes across villages where the houses are perpendic-
184 ular rather than parallel to the slope on which they are built. This is due, according to George Megas, to the difficulty of blasting out sufficient rock to form the foundation of the house. Much less of the precious gunpowder is needed to blast out the narrow part rather than the long part. The house
[231] thus extends out from the slope, affording considerable room for the base-
[251] ment where the animals, agricultural implements, fodder, and fruit are stored. Sometimes there is a direct stairway from the basement to the upper story, consisting chiefly of the main living room; often the stairway is outside the house, usually built in front of the house and ending on a wide landing.

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[p. 75]

[V]

The Peasant at Work

A description of how the land is owned and what it grows gives only one side of the agricultural picture. To round out the chapter just concluded, one needs to see the peasants at work, to follow them from tobacco field to olive orchard, to see how they plow and harvest, and what they do to the part of the earth they own. As they live and work in their small fields, the peasants develop their own way of looking at man and the world. This sets them off from the city dweller or the seafarer, for certain basic rural attitudes prevail all over Greece whether the farmer's energy goes into producing citrus fruits and olives in the south or tobacco and hardy grains in the north. Closeness to the land in the physical and often in the spiritual sense is one such attitude already described. Matching this is the villager's closeness to the changing seasons and weather and his dependence on them. For a truly genuine account we rely again upon T. K. Papaspyropoulos, who has vividly described contemporary life in Kleitoria. The entire following section on the seasons is a translation of his words.

241
184
127

The Cycle of the Seasons in the Peloponnesos

Winter. During winter we have finished all our tasks and we gather in our homes. We have sown, we have gathered our maize, beans, and what other goods God has given us — onions, garlic, potatoes, quince, pomegranates, and so on. We have put our cheese to age; we have rendered our

221
[241]
[252]

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[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep.
221 We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[354] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night
[513] and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas
[273] we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their
221 faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[515] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the
[872] children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a
[224] gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time
[462] to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease
796 each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6
[517] holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

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524 My master bought me, undressed me, cut off my head, and then as he was chopping me he felt sorry and started crying. (An onion.)

Food and Clothing

● 252 Since fuel is so scarce throughout most of the country, fire is used for cooking only when absolutely necessary. Many families still do their cooking in the open fireplace, but many more use small sheet-metal stoves. The [313] husband, when he has caught up on his other jobs, brings the fuel to the [492] house by donkey from the village forest or from some mountainside where [462] the holm-oak shrubs grow, but the wife may also help in this task from time to time.

[178] If she can, the wife persuades her husband to build a brick and mud stove, which raises the cooking surface high enough to avoid stooping. In fact, a good indication of progress in a Greek village home is the height of [415] the stove. Only a few kettles or pans exist where the fireplace is used for cooking, but metal casseroles are required for modern stoves with ovens. 264 Even in those homes where cooking arrangements border on the primitive, a meal is served on clean, white tablecloths, with napkins and whatever dishes and cutlery the family can afford.

262 The food varies considerably by geographical region and by season. But [261] everywhere one finds, in the words of Dorothy Lee, that "traditionally, food is not nutrition. Food is good, not good for you." [6] Therefore, when we describe the Greek diet as consisting of 2477 calories per day as compared 146 with the United States figure of 3129, we are talking nutrition, not food. 262 Or when we break these calories down according to their sources, as in Table 3, we are following a Western, not a Greek villager's, approach. No-

TABLE 3. SOURCES OF CALORIC INTAKE, GREECE AND UNITED STATES, 1948-49

Food group	Percentage of calories	
	Greece	United States
Cereals	61	25
Potatoes	2	3
Sugar and honey	4	15
Pulses and nuts	6	3
Vegetables and fruits	5	6
Meat, fish, and eggs	3	19
Dairy products	4	14
Oils and fats	15	15
	100	100

Source: Adapted from Leland G. Allbaugh, *Crete: A Case Study of an Underdeveloped Area* (Princeton, 1953), p. 132.

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tice in particular the heavy concentration on cereals in the Greek diet in comparison with the more even distribution among other food groups in the American diet. The small proportion obtained from dairy products brings to mind a conversation with an official from Northern Greece, who noted that in a village near Kozane the cows were "about the size of goats," so small and unproductive were they. He told his secretary to arrange to have a good bull sent to the village to improve the stock and to announce to the people what he was about to do. But the women asked why.

"To give you bigger animals to work and to give you more milk."

"What will we do with the milk?"

"Drink it."

"Whoever heard of drinking cow's milk?"

There was no objection, of course, to drinking goat's or sheep's milk. This official went back to the director of agriculture for his region and said, "You hang a stone around your neck, and I'll hang one around mine. We've been here this long and haven't yet taught the people that they can drink cow's milk."

Thus food is more than a statistical table. We learn what is locally important when we hear a Greek village girl tell about the kind of food she has at home:

Throughout the year we eat bread, which is coarse, a little darker, and tastes much better than the bread in Athens. It is made of wheat flour from the grain grown by each family and milled in one of the seven watermills near the village. As a milling charge the miller will keep about one sixth. The flour is stored in a wooden box at home. When we make bread we mix the dough in a pottery bowl. At first, we may need to borrow or buy yeast from another family but then keep a little yeast for next time. We bake once a week in an outdoor oven; in the winter, if the weather is very bad, we use a little oven in the house. The outdoor oven is made of brick and is round. After we have built a fire from branches and gotten the oven very hot, we push the coals to the side and put the round loaves in between so that they will absorb the heat from the oven and the coals. We may also cook cakes or sweets in the oven.

Our people want bread all of the time when they are eating. We eat cornbread only in case of emergency. We eat potatoes more than rice, usually serving the potatoes in a stew of meat and red sauce.

We eat much [notice her definition of "much"] meat, especially pork because we feed a pig until it reaches a hundred okas; we kill it, cut it up, and put the meat in receptacles after salting it. The pig is butchered around March and its meat lasts us for about a year, if we use some of it about twice a week. We eat more chicken than lamb; we don't use beef.

We eat a bean stew about three times a week except in the summer, at which time we eat green beans. We eat many vegetables and fruits in season. We dry figs for use during the year.

The daughter-in-law does most of the cooking and is apt to favor her father-in-law's appetite.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

262 in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to
[432] grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than
[146] from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which
[855] lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[9]

262 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of
264 interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm porridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is
251 no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

262 Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occa-
[574] sion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he
[146] leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the
184 local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as
[146] cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

● 252 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the
572 outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on
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Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[1]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[585] [587] [539] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three [777] [202] shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When [535] the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle every- [535] thing with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard. [203] On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and [262] friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic pat- [765] terns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

[203] On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get mar- [262] ried." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather [535] in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and [608] sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another [788] "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

whom they will marry. This is done by associating the verse being sung with the girl whose forfeit is drawn from the pitcher or jar at that particular time.

To call attention, however, to the major holy days is to overlook the importance of the minor holy days in regulating much of the life of the older villager who is still apt to be tradition-bound. For example, on July 2, the Day of the Virgin the Sheafbearer, many peasants will not harvest for fear that any sheaves they would gather would be destroyed by fire; or on July 7, the Day of St. Kyriaki, peasant women in many parts of Greece will not bake bread for fear that it will be eaten by snakes; or on July 17, the Day of St. Marina, the people go to the vineyards to collect grapes. On this same day they may make a public sacrifice of a calf, letting the animal's blood run in a special ditch; they follow this sacrifice with a common meal. On July 20, the Day of the Prophet Elijah (Elias), there are also festivals and sacrifices, chiefly because so many churches are named in his honor. Some people go to worship on the mountaintops; others try to foretell the weather since Elijah is associated with rain and thunder; and still others light fires on the mountainsides or in the villages.

Thus one could run through each month. There are dates when livestock owners can begin to let their animals pasture freely in fields and vineyards (September 14), when master and servants are supposed to draw up the contract between them (October 26), when the wine cask is to be opened (November 3 or 11), when agricultural work is to be finished for the year (November 14), when the fountain is to be fed with seeds (November 21), when the icons are to be dipped into the sea (December 6).[8] Each of these dates in and of itself is perhaps not very significant, for the taboos and customs are of a relatively simple sort; but they do illustrate the rich heritage of folklore which surrounds every village, day in and day out, and which adds to the color and vividness of rural life in Greece.

These saints' days also afford the basis for the custom of observing namedays. In Greece, a person and his family pay little attention to his birthday but make much of the day of the saint whose name he bears. In Amphypolis, for instance, on a boy's nameday his parents will sacrifice a lamb. They will sing and dance and afterwards feast on the lamb because, as one village girl expressed it, "each boy belongs to a certain saint and the lamb is for the saint." Throughout Greece one visits a friend on his nameday, enjoys the good food that is served, and wishes the individual long life and happiness. In a village where there are many people named Constantine or George, people go from one party to another until they have had more than enough food and drink.

The greatest holidays of the year are Christmas and Easter, with the latter being the more important. As a matter of fact, Christmas is only one part of the so-called Twelve Days (*Dodekaemeron*) between Christmas

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

and godparents in order to beg their forgiveness. Before the evening meal begins the younger members of the family kneel before their parents to ask their pardon for a wrongdoing and to receive a blessing. Carnival is definitely at an end.

Over and over again I asked local informants how many of the people kept the Great Fast before Easter. In the villages the replies were often as high as 80 percent of the older people, but more and more it seems that the younger generation keeps the fast for the one week immediately following Cheese Sunday and then takes it lightly until the Holy Week just prior to Easter. The villagers do not find it hard to give up meat because they actually have little available, but they do find that doing without eggs and cheese is restrictive. The pious manage to live on vegetables, bread, olives, and fruit.

Lent gets off to a frantic start with Clean Monday (*Kathara Deftera*), which is supposedly a period of purification of body and soul. Kitchen utensils are polished until they shine, walls whitewashed to make them look like new, floors scrubbed, and everything made ready for the big holiday which is in store. Townspeople in particular spend this day with their families on a picnic, with many localities having favorite spots that may originally have had a sacred meaning.

Eight days before Easter is the Day of St. Lazarus. On its eve the young girls sing what are called Lazarus songs, and on the day itself they go visiting. They are decorated with flowers and hold palm or laurel branches in their hands. They represent the death and resurrection of Lazarus and receive presents in return for their performance. On this day, too, there are frequently dances in the village squares.

On Palm Sunday the palm or laurel branches are woven into the form of a cross, around which several folk beliefs center. For example, some villagers believe they can tell the future from the cross; and others say this palm cross can be used against the Evil Eye.

Holy Week finds the emotional build-up for Easter increasing day by day. On Monday the housewives put everything in order, particularly if bad weather previously has kept them from getting all the cleaning done. The devout go to church, usually in the evening, although a liturgy is held in the morning as well. In some villages the residents may tie rags in their front door to keep away insects. On Tuesday the people do very little regular work because, as the housewives put it, "we are getting ready for Easter." On Wednesday those attending the morning service are anointed with oil on the forehead, chin, and cheeks (sign of the cross) and, in rural areas, new yeast is prepared in the church and distributed to families for use throughout the year. On Holy Thursday everybody takes the afternoon off, "for it was on this afternoon that Christ was seized." To commemorate the crucifixion in the evening service, the priests read twelve passages from

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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854
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11. At the oven for Sunday afternoon lamb and rice, Attica.

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1:Sanders Z-5/f (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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241
264
415
576

13. Lunchtime in Thessaly in a day of spring plowing.

14. A girl at work at the kneading trough in the village of Malakasa, Central Greece.

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2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1463 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

252
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516

Roasting the paschal lamb.

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[302]

A woman of the village.

A young girl of the village.

[p. xviii]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 83 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

parents have carefully prepared for them, is a form of pleasure so well recognized that there is a specific verb to express it: *kamarono*.

The economic activities of the family through which its members actually carry out a large part of their obligations are usually conducted by an entire household. A household in Vasilika, however, is neither limited to nor does it always include a husband and wife and their children, that is, a family. This is a result of the operation of the marriage, dowry, and inheritance system in the region (to be discussed fully in Chapter 4), and of unpredictable specific circumstances. Here it is sufficient to say that in 1961, of Vasilika's fifty-one households, twenty-six were composed of the elementary family; eight, in addition to the parents and their children, included the widowed mother of the husband; seven had a husband and a wife living alone; and three included one married son and his wife and children living in the same house with his father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters. Of the remaining seven households, each had its own unique composition because of recent deaths in the family or other special circumstances. Whatever the particular situation, however, no Vasilika household includes anyone who is not a kinsman, nor indeed any adults outside the kinship range of parents, their grown children, or adult brothers and sisters.

Of the fifty-one households in Vasilika, thirty-five are headed by farmers who own some land. Although, for various reasons, these farmers are not all equally dependent on their land holdings for their total subsistence and income, their round of life as independent working farmers is one important expression of the aims and obligations of their families. The yearly round of agricultural activities is devoted principally to the production of grapes for wine, wheat for bread, and cotton and tobacco for cash. The farming households also engage in subsidiary activities which contribute to the production and processing of the main crops, and which add to the food supply and income of the households.

Major Crops

The first event of the agricultural year is the pruning of the grape vines. Since grapes are not a commercial crop, each farmer devotes only one or two *stremata* (four *stremata* equal one acre) to viticulture. Wine is made and consumed at home, and each farmer aims to produce only enough grapes to keep him in wine for a year. Pruning of the grape vines starts after the winter rains have abated and the early spring sun appears. Only two or three "eyes" are left on a vine, and the cuttings are carried back to the storehouses to be saved for use as fuel for spit-barbecuing the Easter lambs. Again, as we have seen, farmers are particularly conscious of fatigue in the course of the three or four days it usually takes to do the pruning. Palms have softened over the winter, the wooden handle of the pruning hook raises blisters, and the unaccustomed stooping and pulling motions cause backaches. After the pruning, deep hoeing is done to pile the earth around the short, stout vines. The work is done with a long-handled heavy hoe and, in Vasilika, is considered man's work, as is the pruning. Since the two

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

planting that season accepted the fact with resignation. The agitation died down after several days and the matter was not mentioned again.

Let us return now to the other officials and organizations that have responsibilities concerning the village as a whole. Law enforcement in Vasilika is in the hands of two *aghrofilakes* (rural policemen). They are appointed by the nomarch and are responsible for preventing and detecting animal trespass in the fields and thefts of produce as well as of personal property. They also watch sales of cotton and tobacco and can therefore furnish information of value for estimating produce taxes. The village police are sometimes called in to deal with disorderly conduct or with any physical violence which threatens to become serious. The *aghrofilakes* wear grey uniforms with green trim and are easily distinguished from the other villagers. Vasilika's police used to be *kseni* (strangers) who came from two different neighboring villages, but in 1961 the men were natives of the village who were relatives of the then current president.

There are two other semigovernmental village-wide organizations: the agricultural cooperative credit society, and the welfare committee. The villagers elect a president of the credit society, whose signature is necessary on almost all requests for credit, since the Agricultural Bank works in conjunction with the cooperative. The village priest, the president of the council, and the president of the agricultural credit society constitute the welfare committee. They attest to the financial need of a villager who wishes to avail himself of free government welfare services. In most cases, however, the village families who occasionally need help receive irregular gifts of food and clothing from other village families, and their plight is not considered a matter for joint village action. When several cartons of surplus American butter, cheese, and powdered milk reached the village, it was the priest who distributed the goods. On that occasion, the daughter of one of the recipients brought some butter (which the villagers usually do not use in cooking or baking) to a neighbor's daughter, who contributed eggs, flour, and sugar. The two girls spent a busy afternoon mixing a cake according to a half-remembered recipe given them by an extension worker some years before. The cake was not a success by any standards for such confections, but the girls were satisfied because they had produced a European-style sweet.

The Village School

The village school is supervised and controlled by the Ministry of Education in Athens. The teacher is appointed by the ministry, which also prescribes the curriculum. In Vasilika, in 1955–1956, the school had thirty pupils distributed unevenly among the six grades. The first grade had the largest number of children because its ranks were augmented by the children of the shepherds, some of whom had had no previous schooling and were assigned to the first grade regardless of age. A man originally from the Peloponnesus taught the children. He had married a woman from Parori, who was herself one of the

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
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793 [874] Greece have studied in western Europe or America after completing their course at Athens or at the Academy of Halki, near Constantinople. Of those who go abroad for post-graduate theological studies far the greater number marry and become lay theologians, and it is to the latter rather than the episcopate that the Greek layman looks for academic learning. The metropolitan of scholarly interests, though far from unknown, is somewhat exceptional in these days. Happily, however, it is not necessary to burn midnight oil at Halle or Tübingen in order to learn to love our Lord with great fervour and simplicity and to feed His flock, and among the bishops of the Church of Greece there are many devoted pastors and fathers in God tending their scattered flocks in the obscurity of the war-ravaged mountain dioceses with a zeal not unworthy of the successor of the apostles.

The office of deacon has, so far as the west is concerned, long since ceased to be a reality. In Greece, however, it is otherwise. The diaconate is not, as in this country, a mere step to the priesthood; a kind of noviciate which the ordinand must needs serve before being admitted into priests' orders. In the Greek Church a man who has been ordained deacon may well remain in the diaconate for the rest of his days. The function of the deacon is essentially different from that of the presbyter. His liturgical rôle is of the utmost importance, and one of the chief qualifications in the candidate for the diaconate is the possession of a powerful and resonant voice. It is the deacon who leads the prayers of the congregation from the space before the royal doors—"a body standing before men, but a mind knocking at the gates of heaven through prayer"—in the vivid image of the sixth-century ascetic and master of the spiritual life, St. John of the Ladder; it is he who sings the Gospel from the *ambon*, or pulpit, high on the north side of the church.

[252] In the monasteries the deacons are responsible for baking the *prosphora*, the loaves used at the eucharist. Thus Covel remarks somewhere in his Athonite journals that: "The priests and deacons do no work but what is in ye church or immediately belonging to it . . . ye deacons bake ye προσφορά, and may sometimes be sent of an errand, but nothing else. Ye priests do nothing at all. All laborious work wtever out of ye church else is done by καλόγ. or hired labourers." And elsewhere: "The προσφορά is baked by ye deacons, ye other bread by ye καλόγ. aforesaid."

In Athens and its suburbs, and in Salonica, there are a few married

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inhabitants malevolently. As we dismounted outside the cottage of Papa Costas we were greeted by a score of old friends headed by Basil the resourceful, just descended from Aghios Stephanos and bound for Trikkala to negotiate some delicate piece of monkish diplomacy. Papa Costas' daughter and two cousins from Trikkala were bent over their sewing, and a dish of bean soup simmered on the stove.

Boris bade us farewell that afternoon and set out for Larissa, whence he would travel southwards the following day to sunny Attica and the populous cities: back to that strange, mad world where men spent their days poring over antique folios and writing solemn dissertations; effeminate creatures who slept at night between linen sheets and pillowed in soft down, clad in ridiculous garments fit only for infidels: not indiscriminately, men and women together, upon the hard earth, snugly rolled in warm rugs beside a roaring fire; a pampered and degenerate race.

As the sun went to his rest that evening amongst the snows of Pindos I sat for the last time amidst the ascetics of the Thebaid of Staghi and related the strange and terrible things that we had seen during the past few days, while Father Anthimos boiled some eggs in an empty salmon tin, the stylite cats lurked in the shadows, and old Papa Iannis stroked his venerable beard and murmured an occasional *Kyrie eleison!*

*

The country parson of Pindos, writes an early nineteenth-century traveller, displays a truly primitive simplicity. He is at once the director, adviser, friend and companion of those who till the same fields or pursue the same occupations as himself. The unaspiring *papas*, endued, as it were,

> . . . in spite of his ignorance with an evangelical instinct, sympathised with the sorrows and shared in the joys of his people, and abandoning himself to them, made up for any deficiency of ecclesiastical dignity by a fraternal affection which was rendered doubly dear by the misfortunes and misery of those on whom it was bestowed. In the evening, when the labours of the day were finished, the pastor of the mountain assembled with his parishioners at one of their unadorned chapels on the hills. . . . On the festival and the feast, when

/33 cont./

Recreational Function. Recreation, as such, in organized form is not found in the villages and yet there is plenty of recreation, which the farmers enjoy throughout the year. For older people to play ball or athletics seems very childish. Certain traditional customs handed down from generation to generation provide both group, inter-village, inter-neighborhood, inter-relative and family recreation. For example when a baby is born the whole larger family rejoices and have feasts, when the baby is baptized the whole neighborhood and relatives are invited to join in the ceremonial feast. When a member of the family gets married the whole village participated with their musical instruments. The marriage feast lasts three days, until everybody is exhausted from children of five years to grown ups of 65 years, by dancing, eating and singing. Another recreation is the celebration of their name days. It is surprising to note that only the name day of the male person is observed more than the female name day.

Then come the numerous religious holidays at dif /34/ ferent seasons when inter-village recreation takes place. The village that celebrates its saint day provides shelter and food for those that came from remote villages. At these holidays or Saint days takes place something similar to that of the county fairs in the United States. After the church service the people gather around the church yard and, with their colorful dresses, dance in a big circle while musical instruments play their local songs. Sometimes as many as 250 people dance together. The intensity and the length of the holiday depends on the importance of the Saint.

The year's most important recreational holiday is at Easter period. Three days are devoted for its celebration and the whole village, friends or enemies eat at the common table, drink from the common glass and dance at the common village dancing place. This is the time of the year when all those that have plenty give to those that do not have. The ovens of the village fill the village with the ordor of roast lamb, cookies and other kinds of pastry. The wine cellars open and the best drinks are offered to the good

9: Megas

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231, 252, 351, 354

/For the location of ovens, hearths, courtyards, stables and chicken coops in Greek houses, see category 116, pp. 6-46 and end plates 1-9./

342 The προστῷον[1] is formed by a simple extention of the roof of the house downwards, and consitutes a very useful element for the needs of agricultural life in general, as it not only protects the entrance of the house from the rain, but it also provides a well aired and at the same time a well protected residence, where the family may gather, especially during the summer months. It is here that the family takes its meals and sleeps in summer time. It is here that the women put up their loom, spread and comb the wool, dry the maize and the sesame, the onions and the other fruits. And it is also here that the oven is usually built.

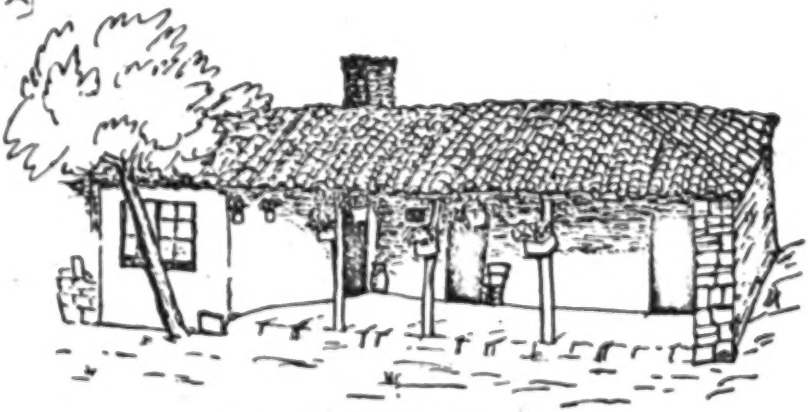

Fig. 4 Old house at Ferrai in Thrace
(G. Megas, Θρακικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, fig. 3)

The increase of space in the houses of both types is done in two directions: a) by extending the top beam of the roof and b) by extending the roof in the direction of the sides of the gable.

342 In the first instance, and in the case of narrow-front houses, two succesive rooms are formed in depth, the προστῷον remaining on the front of the house either open or closed (Fig. 5. Plate I b 1-3). In this last case, a new προστῷον is sometimes added, open on its front side (Fig. 1 c. Plate I a 6). In the case of the wide-front houses, two or more rooms are being formed on the same horizontal line (Figg. 3 and 6. Plate III-VII).

In the second instance and in the case of the narrow-front houses,

1 [prostoon = open portico - Analyst.]

They worked at their own shoeshine booths, or their own fruit-stands or restaurants; they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking, rather than submit to an employer.

TIME

Greeks "pass" the time; they do not save or accumulate or use it. And they are intent on passing the time, not on budgeting it. Although city people say that this picture is changing, that they are now made aware of the need to use time, the attitude is still widely prevalent, even in the area of private life among the urban groups.

The clock is not master of the Greek: it does not tell him to get up, to go to the field. In most villages, in spite of recent changes, the peasants still get up at sunrise or dawn to go to the fields, and return at sundown. The day is made for work. At night women visit and gossip; men join them or go to the coffee house; there is story-telling, and ardent political discussion; and as for any work done after dark, "the day takes a look at it and laughs". Wherever there is no law to the contrary, a man opens his store in due course, not by the clock; however, in the cities he now functions under clocked time because he comes under government and union regulations. Even in the United States, though conservative Greek business men have adapted their business life to the time of the clock, in their private life and at social gatherings they function irrespective of the clock.

It is distasteful to Greeks to organize their activities according to external limits; they are therefore either early or late, if a time is set at all. At church the people are not impatient while waiting for Mass to begin; and the church fills only gradually. They know when to go to church; yet when a foreign visitor inquires as to the time of a certain Mass, the subject creates a discussion; and eventually the answer will be something like: "Between 2 and 3." And when Greeks who follow their traditional ways invite, they say, not: "Come at 7 o'clock," but: "Come and see us." To arrive to dinner on time is an insult, as if you came just for the food. You come to visit, and the dinner eventually appears. Among urbanized Greeks, this custom now seems burdensome, and there are many cartoons on the subject.

The dinner is not planned to appear at a predetermined time; and the housewife does not cook by the clock. She tells by the smell or the consistency, or the colour, or the resistance against the stirring spoon; or the passing of time is gauged by the intervening activities. Conservative Greek women in the United States, even after a residence of many years, banish from the kitchen the interfering clocks which are introduced by their American grandchildren. Greek men and women work expeditiously, as a rule, but do this best at their own rhythm; any need to hurry is external and interfering; it introduces

fuss and disturbance. Efficiency can usually be found when it is not a conscious end.

To introduce an awareness of time into a meal is particularly abhorrent to Greeks, though this has to be done where factories set time limits. Dinner is served when it is ready, and without regard to efficient consumption. The fish is not fileted, the nuts are not shelled, the fruit is not sliced. The eater will spend a long time removing infinitesimal bits of flesh from the head of a small fish. All this is part of the process of eating, which is more than the naked act of consumption. He will end his meal with an orange which he will peel with virtuosity, leaving the peel in one piece; to consume an orange in the form of juice is to take all the meaning out of the act.

Greeks in the city, in some circles, find the need of hurry entering their lives. They are not at home with it. For the Greek traditionally, to work against time, to hurry, is to forfeit freedom. His term for hurry means, originally, to coerce oneself; and a visitor arriving out of breath may say: "I have hurried," but the form in which the word is more often used is "Don't hurry." One does not admonish another to coerce himself, and a mother does not constantly ask her child to hurry up, unless perhaps she is following the new books on child training which say that a baby must not be allowed to set his own pace. But a Greek has other linguistic ways of expressing expeditiousness. There is the gentle hint: "Won't you make speed?" There is the reassuring "I have finished," meaning "I am coming to the end as fast as I can," and there is the urgent call for help: "Arrive!"

There are many clocks and watches in Greece now, both in the city and the village. Watches are an important part of a man's trappings, and of a girl's adornment. Clocks are necessary to complete the furnishing of a house. It is not essential as a rule that they keep good time, or that they run at all. If they are in good running order, and are in use, their function is one of reference; they do not shape the household life. They give information and satisfy curiosity; they do not tell the wife that it is now time to start cooking or serve the meal. However, there are exceptions to this, particularly among the few mothers who follow the child training directions for rigidly scheduled feedings and bedtime. Villagers speak of hours and minutes, but these are merely references to the passing of time, rather than its measure. Visitors, asking how far it is to the next village, find that "five minutes" may mean half an hour or two hours, but they find that the answer "A cigarette away" does provide an accurate measure.

In spite of the prevalence of timepieces, the church bell and the school bell, and even a cannon blast, continue to have active functions in calling adults or children to pre-arranged gatherings or communal village work. Even in the cities, people are called "Englishmen" when they turn up on the dot at meetings or appointments. People often arrive an hour late to an appointment to find that the other